584 innocent and anxiously avoid anything that might give rise to
836 gossip. Thus, if we speak with the Pangwe about sexual matters, we constantly hear the word oson, "shame," oson this and oson
[177] that. Admittedly, wherever European influence is spreading, the use of oson decreases, for together with this influence the religious conceptions upon which shame is based are disappearing (as we saw in the case of sin, nɔ̃m); at the same time, moral sensibilities are becoming laxer, and there are no longer any self-imposed restraints.

With free love universally prevalent, it naturally happens
836 also that several lovers find their way to the same girl in one night, especially when she is no longer a beginner, and she takes "pity" -- as the Pangwe themselves say mockingly -- on them all (1). With such nʒ̃ila, especially the older ones, the

[802] [211]

1. Even to keep track of their number is too difficult a task for her memory; for that reason the Jaunde girls count the number of their friends on little sticks of raffia (see Zenker).

men also permit themselves the use of offensive expressions and crude jokes, such as would be unheard of and strictly prohibited with a young girl -- especially the future wife. As an example,
[831] phalli are sometimes made of wood and then displayed wrapped in a leaf.

As has already been indicated, liaisons of the heart based on
831 genuine love are by no means uncommon. Nobody, on the other hand, will be surprised to learn that for the most part they are of limited duration and are incapable of bearing the burden which we expect of them. Thus I did not learn of a single case of a person
[762] committing suicide because of unrequited love or a spurned courtship, even though women hang themselves because somebody stole a few of their miserable hens, and men shoot themselves because their father sold a daughter in order to buy a wife, instead of leaving her to the son, the girl's brother. Generally speaking, the power of Negro love is not as great as that of the love of the Whites.

551 their names. Our Ndungo was able to enumerate eleven ancestors,
567 his father Essun, then Nsema, Ngää, Massoo, Obute, Akiege, Asangui, Awodo, Tulo, Nsim, Okudu.

Generally speaking, the Pangwe probably know on the average eight or ten ancestors by name; not infrequently one even hears 10, or 12, and 14 represented the maximum.

Frequently a lengthy cognomen is added to the last ancestor, which gives the whole a magnificent final effect, somewhat in the way that among us the descendants of a famous man trace their genealogical tree back to him: "I am descended from that person, and his father was called so-and-so, and his father in turn was so-and-so, the famous general who in such-and-such a war won such-and-such a victory." Thus the ancestral table of an Esseng man by the name of Abõschoo went as follows: Ogbue, Ngumbaschoo, Edu, Ngumu, Bokoo, Motoo, Ossele, Akuschoo Bebe -- ayĕm esĕb ya andĕm = the Akuschoo Bebe, who knew when the dry season comes and when it rains (explanation of the latter part uncertain).

551 A jocular poem in which a boy poses questions while another
539 answers enumerates no fewer than 21 ancestors:
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"o mbe lĕk e vĕ?" -- "a ɣĕm." "oa
You were driving fish where? -- In the Sannaga. You

vĕl dŭ?" -- "nwĕ."
killed what? -- (A) shrimp.

'na a dĕ?"
Who it eat? (Who will eat it?) -- "Abele."

"Abele sa?" (= 'from whom is Abele descended').
"Abele-Boka" (Abele is the son of Boka). "Boka bo sa?" "Boka bo Seisi." "Seisi sa?" "Seisi Mening." "Mening sa?" "Mening me Koebe." "Koebe sa?" "Koebe Kum." "Kum sa?" "Kum Ossaa." "Ossaa sa?" "Ossaa Maniodo." "Maniodo sa?" "Maniodo Ssamwinne." "Ssamwinne sa?" "Ssamwinne a Seongo." "Seongo sa?" "Seongo Abui." "Abui sa?" "Abui

551 Nkumu." "Nkumu sa?" Nkumu Bawu." Bawu sa?" "Bawu Otoo."
539 "Otoo sa?" "Otoo Kuboo." "Kuboo sa?" "Kuboo Emwi."
211 "Emwi sa?" "Emwi Abungo." "Abungo sa?" "Abungo a Schiele."
"Schiele sa?" "Schiele Maa." "Maa sa?" "Maa Makama."
"Makama sa?" Makama

me nga būge nana abō:
who lived to break (of the) mother the leg,
tsĀs
tsass (onomatopoetic).

551 A remnant of the old aversion of all primitive peoples to
578 mention names, because thereby some kind of mischief might result, can still be observed among the Pangwe. /287/ They do not like to utter their names before strangers, and they find a question about their full names (in other words, including that of the father) tactless, indeed, almost insulting, as I frequently noticed among the Fang who had not had any contact with outsiders. It is also an insult in every respect to remind someone of his ancestors. This need not even be done by name -- since, after all, they do not always know the names -- but can be done with just the words: I shall "show" you your ancestors. This is taken as a threat of sorcery, that is, secret murder, and as though one were telling his enemy in advance that he would kill him and transport him to his ancestors. Such an insult is often avenged with the sword.

2. Child Rearing

The child is reared by means of precept and example, rarely
861 by threats, and almost never -- at least only in case of major offenses against morality, such as theft, for instance -- by means of corporal punishment. The result must be termed an extremely good one; Pangwe children behave more tactfully and better than our children of the same age.

967 We are informed by some "experts on the Negro's soul" that
961 the Blacks have no sense of honor. A glance at their family life, however, teaches us the opposite. In rearing the child, the

524 957 plantain leafstalk whose hollow, in addition, was plugged with "medicine," that is, pulverized leaves. The stalk with the ring lies on the ground, and the conjurer binds across his hand a piece of plantain leaf in which he has previously placed an identical leafstalk plugged with leaves, but without a ring. He then playfully strikes the ground with the leaf-covered hand and in so doing exchanges with lightning speed the two plantain leafstalks /307/. Then he invites the spectators to convince themselves that the ring has now been conjured out of it. While the spectators comply with this suggestion, the artist quickly puts the ring on his finger and also removes the plantain stalk.

4. Games of Adults

The Memory Game of the Dwarf Antelope

524 153 [184] To my knowledge, this game occurs only in the southern Pangwe region. Like the memory game of the children, it consists of reciting sentences which in this case, however, are not elicited by questions but are uttered by a single player. The sentences are particularly difficult, because they contain many words with guttural sounds whose pitch varies extraordinarily so that even the Pangwe easily makes a slip of the tongue.

[211] To aid their memory, my boys made use of a long raffia stick on which were strung a whole series of little transverse sticks carved out of raffia pith in such a way that first three pieces, each singly, then two, three, four transverse pieces, and so on, were ranged in groups, in a manner similar to balls on an abacus (Fig. 112).

In reciting each sentence -- there are 12 in all -- the previous sentences must be repeated backwards, and together they form a group which in each instance is introduced by the following verse:

sɔ́ gbwɛ̄ , mvǒ́ń kī́ń = Sso antelope's horn: "gbuĭ" (onomatopoetic, in German, tū); rain: "king" (that is, distant thunder, onomatopoetic, in German, bum). The horn of the Sso antelope whistles: "tū," and behold, the rain answers with thunder: "bum."

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Sentence 9: agbŏ́ɲ́ zāngbwā̀' (seven antelopes) d'a ke a bē agbŏ́ɲ́ asiē'men (six).

Sentence 10: agbŏ́ɲ́ mūōm (eight antelopes) d'a ke a bē agbŏ́ɲ́ zāngbwā̀' (seven).

Sentence 11. agbŏ́ɲ́ ebū, (nine antelopes) d'a ke a bē agbŏ́ɲ́ mūōm (eight).

Sentence 12. agbŏ́ɲ́ avŏ́m (ten antelopes) d'a ke a bē agbŏ́ɲ́ ebū, (nine).

[832] Young lovers like to play the game with their girls, as may be surmised from the somewhat romantic text. Jokingly, the girl says that she will give herself only to the one who can go through the entire game without making a mistake.

The Memory Game (nkŭk ondŭle or endĕle)

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This game is known only among the Fang and a number of adjoining Ntum kin groups, and it is supposedly indigenous. A flat staff with short, paired transverse extensions and vertically inserted knobs is used in the game. The end of the staff usually has a head carved on it (Fig. 113). Each pair of transverse extensions, along with the knob and the adjacent lower part of the staff, forms a segment on which eleven different points are designated for the answers (see Fig. 114).

The game may have developed from an older, simpler one in which the individual parts of the human body were enumerated. This notion is suggested by the designation of the staff as the body, of the carved end -- even when it is not a regular head -- as neck and head, by the tripartite arrangement of the transverse extensions -- absent in Figure 113 -- (corresponding to the upper arm, the

[822]
[831]

Fig. 112. Stick with Pieces of Raffia used as Mnemonic Device in the Memory Game of the Dwarf Antelope. About one-fourth actual size.

Memory Game, nkuk-ondûle, made of Wood, Southern Ntum Region. A little over one-fifth actual size.

Fig. 113

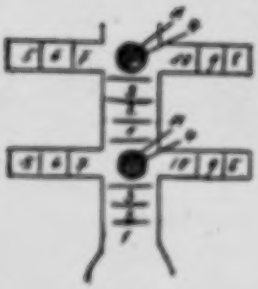

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Fig. 114
Two Sections of the Memory Game nkuk-ondûle.

lower arm, and the hand), and finally by the upright knob, called [122]
nzâgenvâge (the red one; red as the color of reproduction, of [631]
life), by which originally the male sex organ was doubtless understood. The implement is thus unquestionably supposed to represent a human body whose members are multiplied.

The game is played by two people, one questioning, the 524
other answering. The former, seated in the circle of listeners, 153
holds the implement in his hand and indicates the various points that /309/ must be answered. At each one he calls out: "nê nê?=What is that?" (phonetically assimilated and corrupted from dâê dâê). The principal player sits farther away and answers the questions in rhythmic song while the others stamp their feet or clap [633]
their hands in time. He is, of course, not allowed to make any marks to aid his memory, such as dividing a little stick into the corresponding number of sections. This is brainwork.

The 11 questions, which are the same for each segment, go 153
as follows: 524
1, 2, 3. (see the corresponding numbers in Fig. 114) 539
nkûk ondûle wô'le.
Body (of the) ondûle here. That is the body of the ondûle.

perform a sort of exorcism. Sorcerers seem to be convened to these meetings by secret messages in the form of bundles of sticks notched according to a particular code, or in the form of the quipu. They are believed to reach the meetings by levitation or by sending only their nsisim while their bodies remain at home in a state of apparent death. This offers a good chance of getting rid of the sorcerer by burning his body, the disadvantage being that the nsisim survives, as does the évu, and that they then can be incarnated in an animal, which cannot happen if the sorcerer is burnt alive.

The évu may use various methods of moving about outside the nnem's body. Sometimes he leaves it in an invisible and immaterial form, but this method is exceptional. Most often he enters the body of an animal, generally a leopard, but sometimes a black snake, civet cat, gorilla, or chimpanzee, or even certain insects; the list is unlimited, but nearly always the animal in question is powerful or dangerous. The carrier-animal is then almost invulnerable, endowed both with human intelligence and with the powers of an évu. It is, however, possible to strike at it, with luck and good mebiak, and any injury to the évu rebounds on the sorcerer. On the other hand, injury to a sorcerer during the évu's absence is not necessarily fatal to the latter, because the évu can survive in the body of the vehicle-animal. The latter is called nkuk (1), which can also mean "mask." It is

1. Among the Ewondo, this term also denotes the good bekón who appear in dreams to give advice to the living. (J.B.)

not clear whether there is a confusion /119/ with the élélé la, as Trilles suggests, or with animal-bekón, or with those who are beyem on their own account, or even with bingongit (bingongure).

There seems to exist alongside ngwel a /kind of/ sorcery connected with abé niem or mbis niem, malignity of the heart, and having nothing to do with possession by the bivu. Thus practitioners of kón, which consists of killing a person while leaving his body alive (see above, p. 134), would not necessarily be beyem in the strict sense. Likewise, many malevolent activities are only criminal deviations from permissible magic. Alliance with an animal, or incarnation in the body of an animal, or even the transformation of a magician into an animal, need not be malevolent or only becomes so